

# American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.

—James Monroe

VOLUME VIII, NUMBER 20

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FEBRUARY 6, 1939

## Health Insurance Is Discussed by Nation

**Attention Called to Heavy Toll Exacted by Preventable Disease in the United States**

### GROUP MEDICINE ISSUE UP

**Controversy Develops as President Makes Recommendations to Congress for Broad Program**

Ever since the Social Security Act went into effect, a little more than two years ago, there has been talk about extending the program to include health insurance. The present law provides for insurance against the loss of jobs, which calls for the payment during a certain number of weeks of money to tide the unemployed worker over until he finds a new job. It also establishes a system of old-age insurance which will provide workers with a regular monthly income after they reach the age of 65. The fund from which unemployment compensation is paid is raised by a tax on employers, whereas that of the old-age insurance program is raised by a tax on both workers and employers.

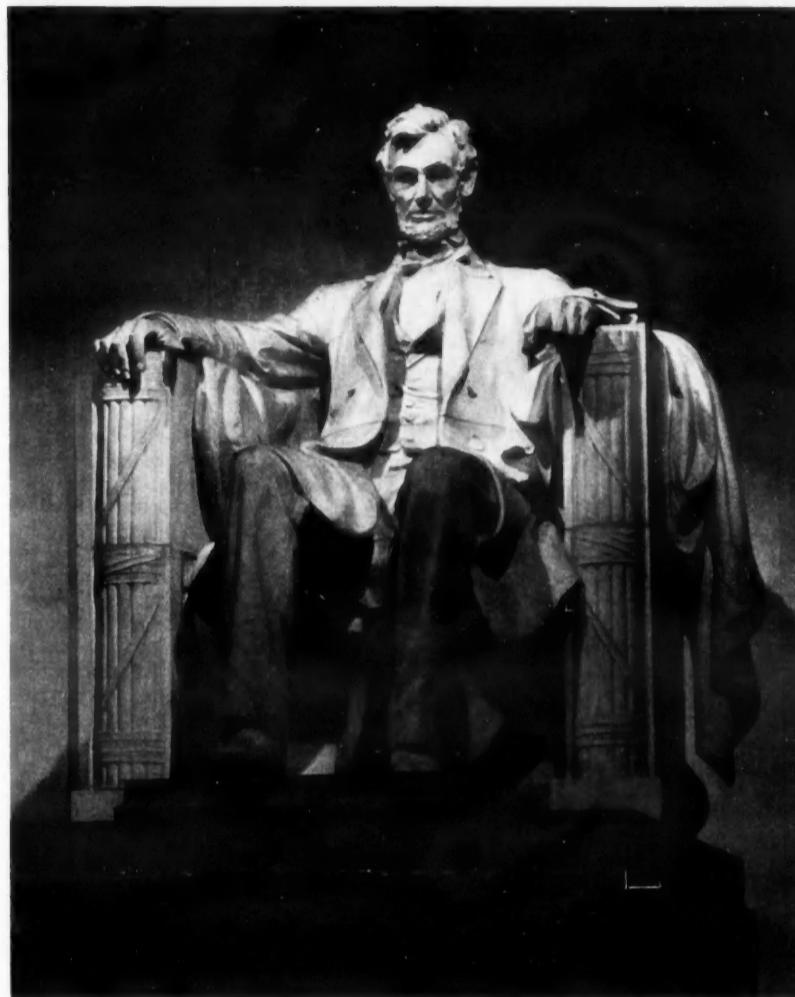
#### Health Insurance

It is probable that the present session of Congress will take up the question of health insurance, the purpose of which is to enable people of low and moderate incomes better to provide for their health needs by means of a broad insurance system. Through regular contributions to a fund, workers would be provided with medical care, with hospitalization facilities, and with certain other requirements incident to illness. President Roosevelt has recommended that Congress study the problem with a view to enacting legislation on the subject. He submitted a report and the recommendations of a special governmental committee which had spent nearly four years studying the whole question of the nation's health needs. Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, one of the authors of the Social Security Act, has been preparing a bill which, if enacted, would, over a period of years, establish a comprehensive program of health insurance.

With the general objective of trying to improve the nation's health by making available adequate medical care to all who need it and who cannot now afford it, there is very little opposition, although the medical profession is sharply divided on the question of a government-sponsored program of health insurance. It is a generally recognized fact that, although the health standards of the nation have greatly improved during the last few decades, the toll of preventable death is far too high. It is reliably estimated that the nation loses approximately \$10,000,000,000 a year as a result of "the costs and losses occasioned by sickness, disability, and premature death," in the words of the governmental committee.

The tragedy is that the heavy toll from sickness could be greatly reduced if, somehow, adequate medical care could be provided to all who need it. It is estimated that last year 70,000 babies died before reaching the age of one year who might have been saved with proper medical attention. Some 20,000 people who might have been saved died of pneumonia; 35,000 of tuberculosis; 24,000 of cancer. Altogether, 240,000 persons died unnecessarily.

(Concluded on page 8)



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From the statue in the Lincoln Memorial.

## National Student Poll

The poll of opinion conducted by this paper a few weeks ago proved so popular that we plan to carry the idea further, presenting a test of student opinion each month. These polls will cover a variety of subjects. Usually they will test opinion on political and economic problems. In this respect they will be similar to the one which was conducted last fall. This month we are asking questions designed to test student opinion concerning problems connected with the school and with education.

It is a fact, of course, that if these tests were given in such a way as to take a great deal of time from the recitation, they might become a nuisance. Arrangements may be made, however, whereby very little time will be consumed. Students may mark their ballots after leaving the classroom and may bring them to class the following day. A committee of students may be appointed to take up the ballots and tabulate them. The tabulated results may then be sent to us. It will be impossible for us to accept individual student ballots. One set of results should be sent to us from each school or from each class. If the test can be given at the next recitation period following the receipt of this paper, the national returns can be more quickly made known.

	Yes	No
1. Have you decided upon the vocation you wish to follow?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Have you been helped by any course you have taken in school to make up your mind about a vocation?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. In your opinion is the student who makes excellent grades more likely to succeed in life than one who does not?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Is an athletic star whose grades are low more popular among the students of your school than a nonathletic student with excellent grades, other things being equal?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Is there much cheating at examinations in your school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. If a student cheats in examinations, would you trust him in other matters?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Is there student government in your school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Do you approve student government?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Do you do more work in any subject than is required simply because of your enjoyment of it?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Does your school work help you to enjoy life?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Hitler's Reichstag Speech Is Examined

**Although Not so Belligerent as Expected, Demands on Other Powers Bode No Good**

### ASKS RETURN OF COLONIES

**Says German People Must Have Them to Survive. Backs Italian Demands on France**

When Adolf Hitler appeared last week before the German Reichstag to warn the democracies not to interfere with Germany's internal affairs nor with her attempts to realize the just fruits of her power and greatness, the stage was all set for another one of those great moments that so appeal to the imagination of the German *Fuehrer*. For the first time there were before him, in addition to the Reichstag members from Germany proper, those of Austria and of the Czech Sudetenland, all brought within the borders of the Greater Germany within a year. All the high Nazi leaders were present. Goebbels and General Goering; the recently ousted president of the German Reichsbank, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht; the former Sudeten-Nazi leader, Konrad Henlein; and Hitler's Austrian deputy, Seyss-Inquart. All in all it was a memorable gathering.

#### A Critical Stage

The setting was also made a focal point of world politics by the rapidity with which international events had shaped themselves into the crisis stage the week before. The situation was, in fact—and still is—akin to that existing last fall a month or so before the Munich conference. One of the totalitarian powers, Italy, had made demands upon one of the democratic powers, France, and was apparently preparing to back up her demands by force. The difference this time was that it was Italy rather than Germany that was making the demands against the democratic powers. One by one the events passed in rapid succession, bringing matters closer to a head, and one by one, the statesmen of western Europe arose to clarify or obscure, as the case may have been, their positions.

The most important event was the collapse of the loyalist resistance in Spain, which permitted the insurgents under General Franco to occupy, without a struggle, Barcelona, the former loyalist capital, the largest city in Spain, and the center of loyalist industry and communications. The rout of loyalist troops who could not make a stand because they lacked ammunition, led most competent observers to believe that no very serious opposition to the Franco regime remained in Spain.

In Italy there was a great deal of cheering, for something like 40,000 Italian soldiers had participated in the final drive, and had entered Barcelona along with the Moors and Italian infantry. In celebrating this event, Mussolini appeared before the Italian people and delivered a speech remarkable for its belligerency. From his balcony of the Piazza di Venezia in Rome he shouted: "The victory at Barcelona is another chapter in the history of the new Europe which we are now creating. Thanks to the magnificent troops of General Franco and to our intrepid legionnaires, not only the government of Negrin [the loyalist premier] has been defeated, but many others among our enemies are now biting the dust!" The crowd interrupted the

(Continued on page 3)

## Facts About Magazines

### VI. Events

THERE are several magazines that have this quality: that after reading them you do not throw them away. And there are a few which you not only keep, but actually look at and consult long afterward, whenever something comes up on which you want to get posted. Among these is *Events*.

It is a plainly printed monthly magazine, of the small-page size which might make you think, as you see it on the newsstands, that it is in the "reprint" class. Nothing could be further from the truth. Each issue contains from 12 to 16 articles, written expressly for this magazine and telling about the world happenings of the previous month; they are written by scholarly men, who are experts in their respective fields, and who certainly do not underrate their readers' intelligences. They do not "write down." They do not oversimplify—but they do not make matters unreasonably hard to grasp, either. To borrow Walter Duranty's phrase, each expert "writes as he pleases" for *Events*.

This magazine has several steady writers, one group following Hitler, one Spain, one the United States, one the Orient, and so on—so that it seems the historian of the future must surely consult it, to find out not only what happened in a given month of a given year, but to find out what was the best opinion being held about each event at the time. It is a history of opinion as well as of fact.

*Events* is a young magazine. Its first issue appeared in January 1937. It was founded and is edited today by Spencer Brodney, who was editor of *Current History* from 1931 until it was sold by the *New York Times*, and had been associate editor for a decade before that. "Broadly

Mr. Brodney was born in Melbourne, Australia, and later went to the London School of Economics. While he himself has a broad knowledge of world affairs, he does not dictate to his writers, but leaves them free to state their own conclusions as they see fit, relying on their ability and impartiality. The magazine disclaims all partisan or propagandistic purpose, and it equally disavows the purpose of "turning news into entertainment." "The questions that now involve the fate of civilization," says Editor Brodney, "are too serious to be treated with frivolity or spurious cleverness."

Of about 80 articles printed in the last six months of 1938, only 14 dealt with domestic topics—this may seem top-heavy on the foreign side, but for that matter so was the news of the period. Of the "steady" writers with whom Mr. Brodney has surrounded himself, the English news is followed by Professor Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College, by Herbert Heaton, Alvin Adey, and Preston Slosson. German developments are analyzed by Sidney B. Fay, Allan Nevins, and others. Leo Gershey and J. Salwyn Schapiro, historians both, follow the French scene; William E. Lingelbach and Karl Lowenstein deal with Spain and Italy; John I. B. McCullough with Latin America, John S. Curtiss with Russia, and G. Nye Steiger with China and Japan. On American affairs, Professor Charles A. Beard, Shelby Cullom Davis, Harold U. Faulkner, and Phillips Bradley are frequent writers. Most of these are on university faculties.

The latest issue contained such titles as: "Pogroms and Power Politics," "America Faces the Aggressors," "Latin-American Retrospect," "Where Does America Go Next?" "Eden's Policy for Britain," "French Labor in Retreat," "Nazi Anti-Jewish Orgy," "The Soviets' Twenty-First Year," and "China Balks Japanese Conquest." *Events* may be bought for a quarter at a magazine stand, but the yearly subscription is only \$2, which is probably lower than that of any other 25-cent magazine.

## EVENTS

A Monthly Review of World Affairs  
SPENCER BRODNEY, Editor

JANUARY 1939

Pogroms and Power Politics	Frederick L. Schuman	1
America Faces the Aggressors	D. F. Fleming	8
Latin American Retrospect	John I. B. McCullough	14
Where Does America Go Next?	David B. Sims	20
Eden's Policy for Britain	Herbert Heaton	24
French Labor in Retreat	H. P. Jordan	27
France's Elusive "Final Victory"	W. E. Lingelbach	34
Nazi Anti-Jewish Orgy	Sidney B. Fay	36
Carol's Fascism to End Fascism	Karl Lowenstein	43
The Soviets' Twenty-First Year	John S. Curtiss	47
Turkey Under a New President	Wilbur W. White	50
The New Republic of Hatay	Wilbur W. White	54
China Balks Japanese Conquest	G. Nye Steiger	56
Railroad Malady	Shelby Cullom Davis	60
The Town Forest Movement	William Seabrook	66
Other Events of the Month		69
Chronology of Events		77

(Reproduced by courtesy of *Events*.)

speaking," wrote Brodney in that first issue, "the purpose is to give you the essential facts about events throughout the world, an accurate and impartial record that sifts the truth from the gossip, rumors, and surmise. More than that, it is a review in which, from month to month, the meaning of events is explained by expert and interesting writers."

## The American Observer

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PICTURES, INC.  
HITLER AND CHAMBERLAIN AS THEY MET IN ONE OF THEIR SEVERAL CONFERENCES BEFORE MUNICH

## Foreign Affairs Editor Analyzes Munich's Effect Upon World Peace

WETHER for good or ill, the settlement reached at Munich last September clearly stands out as one of the most momentous events of recent European history. It may fulfill the prediction made by Prime Minister Chamberlain at the time and result in "peace for our time," or it may prove itself to have been but the prelude to a calamitous European, and perhaps a world, war. Since a full appraisal of the Munich accord will naturally depend upon events which have not yet taken place, one's final judgment must be deferred. One can, however, review the events which led up to this momentous climax and examine certain of its more immediate consequences.

That is precisely what Hamilton Fish Armstrong undertakes to do in one of the most talked of the recent books, "When There Is No Peace" (New York: The Macmillan Company, \$1.75). Few students of foreign affairs are better qualified to perform this useful task than Mr. Armstrong, for he is recognized as one of the nation's leading authorities on international developments. He is editor of the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, is scholarly and

thoroughly familiar with the international scene.

It is Mr. Armstrong's contention that the so-called Peace of Munich is no peace at all, but merely an armistice, a prelude to a general war which was temporarily postponed by the meeting of the heads of the four European powers. Its immediate effect was to reduce England and France, which had ruled the continent ever since the World War, to a position of inferiority. "The two greatest empires of the modern world," he writes, "have ceded their position in Europe to the state which had challenged them and been defeated after untold sacrifices only 20 years ago. For them to have done this without a struggle, without receiving compensation, without exacting guarantees for the future—if such there could be—is so extraordinary an event that it must have originated in some more complicated source than physical fear."



W.W.  
HAMILTON FISH  
ARMSTRONG

By the time things had gone as far as they had on the eve of the Munich conference, England and France had to choose between yielding to Hitler on the Czech issue or going to war. That does not mean, Mr. Armstrong contends, that the September surrender could not have been avoided had a different policy been adopted earlier. "After all," he says, "one can feel that by September 29 something like the Munich agreement had become the only alternative to open hostilities without feeling that the policy which pointed toward Munich was necessarily expedient in February, or in July, or in August, or when Chamberlain decided to 'come across' to meet Hitler face to face at Berchtesgaden, or in the period thereafter, or even in the more doubtful days immediately after Godesberg."

It is a fascinating story which Mr. Armstrong has pieced together from the records and documents of those exciting days last fall when the whole world tottered on the brink of war. The sequence of events which culminated at Munich in September really began in February when Prime Minister Chamberlain accepted the resignation of Anthony Eden as British foreign secretary. At that time, Mr. Armstrong argues, Chamberlain made the fatal blunder of letting Hitler know that he would not encounter stiff opposition in carrying out his expansionist program in Europe.

The conclusion to be drawn from "When There Is No Peace" is that had the British and French taken a strong stand against Germany in the days preceding Munich, Hitler would have backed down as he did in May, when he was prevented from marching into Czechoslovakia by a united Anglo-French front.

## With the Magazines

"Scandinavia: Pace-Setter in Peace," by Henry C. Wolfe, *Current History*, February 1939, pp. 27-29.

The Scandinavian countries, says this writer, are not unaware of the dangers that confront their democracies. Yet surrounded by hostile armed countries, they prefer to build up their progressive civilizations and to finance armies and navies only large enough to defend their neutrality. Mr. Wolfe believes that Denmark is the only one of the group who is in immediate danger of Nazi penetration.

"WPA—or the Dole," by Robert S. Allen, *The Nation*, January 28, 1939, pp. 111-112.

With the question of relief as a main issue before Congress, this writer gives a clear picture of behind-the-scenes lineups on the question in the House and in the Senate. He believes that the real objective of those who oppose the relief appropriation is to destroy the WPA and substitute a dole system for the unemployed. This, he says, would completely destroy the morale of those already bitter from lack of work.

"City Doctor," by Joseph Ambrose Jerger, M. D., *American Magazine*, February 1939, pp. 34-35, 106-109.

"One half of the nation is receiving inadequate or no medical care; and if organized medicine does not correct this inequity the states will be compelled to," concludes this doctor in an interesting article based on his years of experience as a country and city doctor. He protests against the closing of city hospitals to outside doctors, and he condemns overspecialization in medicine.

"All Is Not Lost in the Fight for Democracy," by David S. Muzzey, *New York Times Magazine*, January 22, 1939, pp. 3, 14.

Surveying the dark aspects of the world today, this historian protests against the acceptance of these conditions with a defeated attitude. He believes that, like Napoleon, the dictators will have only a brief time of power. In the meantime, he urges men to face the situation with courage, not pessimism, and to develop a long-time view of historical developments.

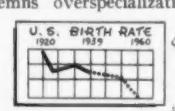


burdening future generations with taxes is to adopt a pay-as-you-go plan.

"Population Going Down," by Stuart Chase, *The Atlantic*, February 1939, pp. 183-192.

Radical changes in our economic and industrial orders, Mr. Chase believes, will be brought about by the declining birth rate and the increasing percentage of old people in the population. Although he thinks we must prepare for this change, Mr. Chase sees a brighter side to this situation in that it may produce a more integrated democracy.

"U. S. BIRTH RATE" (1920-1960)



## Hitler's Speech Examined by World

(Continued from page 1)

speech at this point with cries of "Tunisia, Corsica." Resuming, Il Duce shouted, "The watchword of the Reds [loyalists] was 'No passaran' [they shall not pass]. We have passed, and I tell you we shall pass!" In high glee the crowd roared its approval with further shouts of "Tunisia, Corsica, Nice, Savoy" and the names of any other French possessions that came readily to mind, some even raising the cry of "on to Paris!"

### French Reaction

Since Mussolini's broad hints were obviously aimed at France, the eyes of the world turned to Paris to see what the French government would do. What had long been feared had come to pass. Mussolini was showing a belligerent spirit. While France waited, his troops were overrunning the province of Catalonia, directly south of France's frontier along the Pyrenees. What would France do? What could France do?

Generally speaking, there were two things that France could do. She could make up her mind that Mussolini was in dead earnest and move to stop the Italian advance in Spain, first of all, by opening her borders to let through much-needed supplies to the hard-pressed loyalists. There was great pressure upon the French government to make this move. It was pressed by the strongest party in parliament, the Socialists, the most moving appeal coming from the man who had originally suggested that France adopt a policy of nonintervention, former Premier Leon Blum. Mr. Blum stated that nonintervention was a failure inasmuch as all it did was to permit Germany and Italy to give all the help they wished to Franco, while France and England were restrained from helping the loyalists who needed help badly and who were, he said, fighting by themselves for the cause of European democracy. But the government of France, upon the appeal of Georges Bonnet, the foreign minister, refused to open the border. Both Bonnet and Premier Daladier professed belief that Mussolini could be relied upon to keep his word and remove all troops

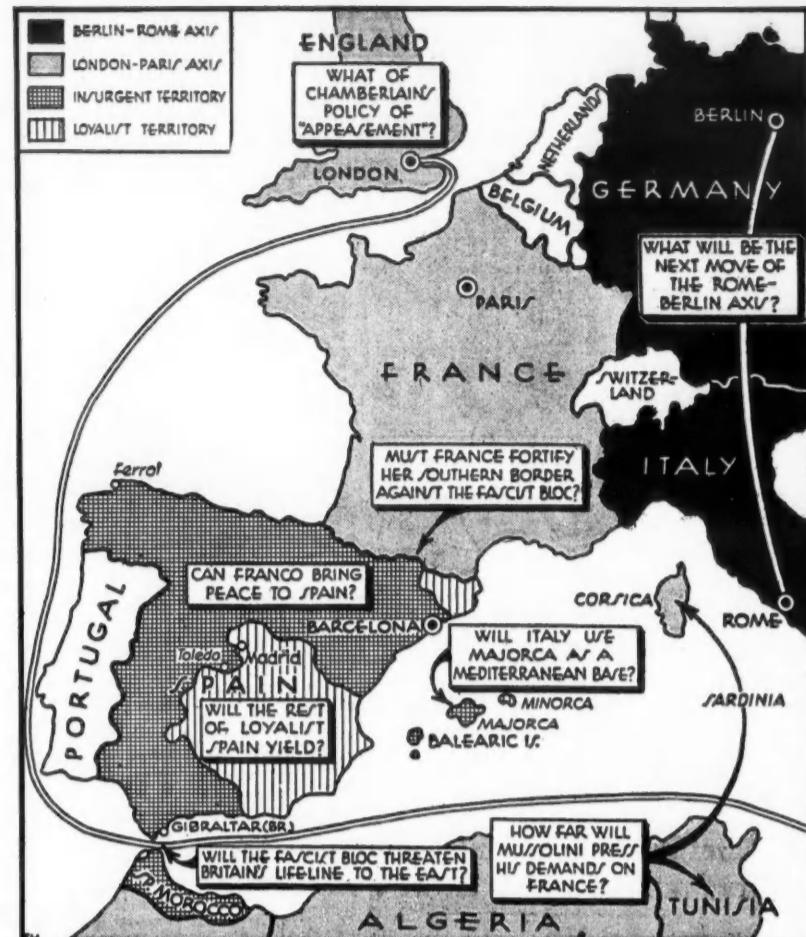
from Spain and from Spanish Morocco at the conclusion of the war.

Feeling the pressure of circumstances, however, Bonnet warned that the matter was a "question of force" and warned that Italy must withdraw her troops at the conclusion of the war. And what if Italy did not? The intimation was given that France would occupy the island of Minorca, now held by the loyalists, to counter the Italian air base on the nearby island of Majorca, and also Spanish Morocco. At the same time it was noted that both the British and French Mediterranean fleets were cruising in that region. Daladier raised cheers from the deputies when he proclaimed that the French and Italian differences were "racing toward a climax," and that France and England stood shoulder to shoulder to resist any attempts that anyone might make to infringe upon their territorial integrity. He added that France intended to honor her alliances with Poland and the Soviet Union, thus apparently reversing the policy adopted after Munich of keeping hands off eastern Europe.

### Britain Is Firm

The British government, in the meantime, was also displaying an active interest in the situation, and for the first time since last autumn was striking a firm note. In an address approved by the cabinet, Sir Samuel Hoare, home secretary, warned the dictators, without naming them, that British morale was good and that no air attack would break Britain's spirit. "I believe, on the contrary," he said, that any such attempt will increase by a hundredfold our determination to vanquish the aggressor. Let the world ponder upon these things, and particularly let those ponder on them who say that we have grown weary with age and feeble in power. So they thought in 1914. They had a rude awakening."

On the heels of the home secretary's speech, an appeal by 18 distinguished Britishers was broadcast by short wave to the German people, urging them to cooperate with the British in maintaining the peace. From Birmingham, Prime Minister Cham-



COURTESY NEW YORK TIMES

berlain also broadcast an appeal to Hitler and Mussolini to avoid the use of force to obtain their objectives. His speech left doubts in the minds of many because of its vagueness on certain points. He said nothing concerning Spain, nor concerning Czechoslovakia. He made no mention of his promises to guarantee the Czech border in return for Czech capitulation at Munich—promises that have not been kept. He attacked his critics and stated that his course last autumn was the best one, and

that he had no regrets concerning it. He stated that Britain's weaknesses in armament production have been greatly exaggerated and that these weaknesses have now been removed. Toward the close of his address he stated that England would not stand in the way of the just aspirations of other peoples so long as those aspirations did not run counter to the interests of other nations, but warned once again that "democracies must inevitably resist all attempts to dominate the world by force."

### Doubts Remain

Thus each nation stated its position by the week end of January 28-29. All these positions were not clear by any means. How far did Britain intend to go in yielding to the natural aspirations of Italy and Germany? At what point would she resist? At what point would France finally say, "The war in Spain is over. If Italian troops are not withdrawn in so many days, we shall act"? Would, indeed, the government of Daladier and Bonnet, in the light of its past record, ever take such a step? To what extent was Mussolini prepared to press his demands against France, and if he was prepared to fight, when would he be ready?

It was in this atmosphere of doubt that Hitler stepped before the Reichstag and a battery of microphones last Monday. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole world was waiting to hear what he had to say. Would he acknowledge Mr. Chamberlain's plea for friendship? Would he back Italy's demands against France? Would he present new demands of his own?

Hitler's speech before the Reichstag, lasting two and one-half hours, was one of the longest of his career, but not one of the most brilliant. To those listening it was difficult for some time to tell just what he was getting at. In a style peculiar to him, he uttered a great number of short, cryptic sentences, sometimes related to the sentence preceding, and sometimes not. He extended the hand of friendship to the democracies, and then withdrew it, then he extended it again. He made no mention of Prime Minister Chamberlain's speech of two days before. He spoke of German culture, and more vaguely of European culture and of how it had been saved from Bolshevism by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Although his speech was neither as belligerent nor as hysterical as those delivered before the Czech crisis last

(Concluded on page 6, column 3)

## Need Seen for Expanded Recreational Facilities

ANY town or city is to be judged in part by the sort of provision it makes for recreation. If a community is really doing its work well, it will give its people, young and old, an opportunity to play, to rest, and to enjoy a variety of recreational facilities.

To a certain extent, this is a job at which the entire city should work. It is a task for the city or town or village government. Individuals cannot, by themselves, provide and maintain parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, art galleries, libraries, concert halls, and other facilities. A well-managed city will supply these things for the use of its citizens. Public-spirited citizens may help to develop public opinion which calls for the provision of such equipment. By doing so, they contribute to the welfare and happiness of all the inhabitants, and they help their city to move forward in the direction of higher standards of living and civilization.

There is much, however, that individuals and groups can do to assure themselves of

stimulating recreational activities. The work may start among students in the schools and may be continued throughout life.

Many people do not take advantage of the recreational facilities which are to be found in every community. We have said that the maintaining of parks and playgrounds is a work for the city or town government itself. Once these grounds have been provided, as they are in well-managed communities, the use to which they are put depends upon the energy and initiative of individuals and groups.

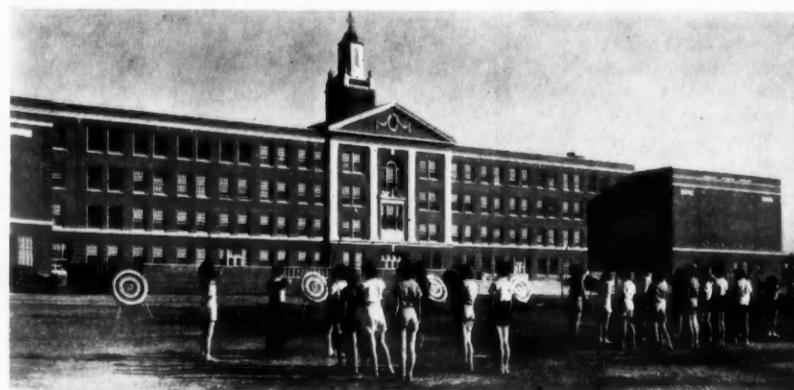
In some communities, it is customary for the people to play. Boys and girls, and older people as well, have their baseball teams and their basketball teams and their bowling teams. They form amateur leagues made up of the different teams. The community is alive with amateur athletic interest. A manifestation of this interest is the springing up of ice-skating rinks all over the country. In other communities, where there is less initiative, most people

are content to watch athletic games and not actually to participate.

There are many other recreational opportunities open to people, young and old, as well as the athletic. In school and outside, there is the possibility of engaging in dramatic enterprises. In every neighborhood, there are people of all ages who have some dramatic ability and who would enjoy taking part in plays. In some places, community singing is a recreational enterprise in which many participate.

Whether one has money or not, he may find recreation in the public libraries—one of the most stimulating kinds of recreation. One who acquires the habit of wide reading has taken an important step toward insuring himself against boredom. There are schools in which clubs are formed by students who are interested in music. These students learn to appreciate music by listening to concerts, by discussing radio programs, by exchanging information about phonograph records, and so on.

Recreation which is both restful and stimulating is a necessary factor in happy living, but a seriously neglected one. Young people with energy and initiative may do much for themselves and their communities by making lists of all the forms of recreation which are open to people of all ages and by seeing to it that full advantage is taken of these facilities. It is a fact, of course, that in many places the sort of facilities which can be provided by public action alone are lacking. When there are inadequate parks and playgrounds and libraries, the poorer elements of the population do not have a chance to obtain recreation and the result is impaired health and an increase of crime. Among all the problems of local government, the problem of supplying adequate opportunities for recreation stands high in the list.



ARE THE PLAYGROUNDS IN YOUR COMMUNITY ADEQUATE?

WPA



HARRIS AND EWING

## A NEW METHOD OF MAP MAKING

John Braund, map maker of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, has developed a new method of making relief maps which show all the physical details true to nature and easily understandable even to the inexperienced map reader. Instead of compressed paper or cardboard, Braund uses thin metal on which he has printed the map desired. He then hammers out the topography with a special electric hammer which he has designed.

## DOMESTIC

## UAWA Split

For many months the United Automobile Workers of America, second largest union within the CIO, has been troubled by dissension among its leaders. That dissension has finally resulted in a complete and seemingly irreparable split, with President Homer Martin and four members of the executive board on one side, and 15 members of the board on the other.

At present, both groups of leaders claim to have control of the UAWA. President Martin expelled the 15 members of the board. But they replied by holding a meeting and voting to impeach Mr. Martin, claiming that he had no power to expel them. So both groups are maintaining offices in Detroit, and the question of which group has the legal right to speak for the UAWA will not be settled until the courts rule on the matter. The split between the leaders has thrown the UAWA into an uproar. The union's money is tied up in a Detroit bank; neither group can get it. The Detroit postmaster is holding up union mail, not knowing to which office he should deliver it. The Martin group plans to hold a national convention in Kansas City on March 4, while the anti-Martin group has called a convention on March 27 in Cleveland.

Officials of the CIO are supporting the anti-Martin faction; Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, vice-presidents of the CIO, have conferred with the 15 board members, and are backing them in their fight to force Mr. Martin out of control. Mr. Martin has retaliated, however, by resigning from the CIO's executive board, and calling John L. Lewis a "labor dictator."

Within the next few months, a number of contracts between the UAWA and automobile manufacturers must come up for renewal. At

present, employers do not know with which set of union officials they should deal. Their decision, however, will have a great deal to do with settling the dispute, since the faction which is recognized by the employers will gain much prestige.

There is no clear-cut issue between the two groups of leaders. Both claim that the other is dominated by Communists. But it is likely that the real basis for the dispute lies more in personal grievances, in small but numerous differences over the administration of the union's affairs. The UAWA is only a few years old, although it has a membership of almost 400,000. President Martin, an eloquent speaker and an excellent organizer, did much to build the union to its present size. But the anti-Martin board members say that he is not so efficient at administering the routine affairs of the union.

## Relief Reduction

By the margin of a single vote, the Senate has refused to raise the additional appropriation for the WPA (to carry it through February, March, April, May, and June) from \$725,000,000 to \$875,000,000—the sum which President Roosevelt originally requested. By a 47-46 count, the Senate agreed with the House of Representatives on the smaller amount. And while the Senate amended the bill in other ways, thus making it necessary that the House reconsider it, it is almost certain that the bill will go to the President with the \$725,000,000 figure in it, rather than the \$875,000,000 one.

The Senate did provide a means by which the WPA can keep from dismissing as many persons as the smaller appropriation would require. It wrote a section into the bill which provides that not more than 150,000 of the 3,000,000 persons now on WPA shall be cut off the relief rolls before April 1. Then, if the WPA finds it necessary, the President may ask for more money.

The President's defeat in the Senate was due to a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats. It was the first concrete proof of an oft-repeated prediction—that this session of Congress will be much more anti-Roosevelt than any preceding session.

## Amlie Appointment

The appointment by President Roosevelt of Thomas R. Amlie to the Interstate Commerce Commission has stirred a great deal of controversy. The Senate, which must confirm the appointment, is certain to give the matter a thorough discussion, and it is quite possible that the majority of senators will refuse to approve the appointment.

Mr. Amlie has served three terms in Congress, as a member of the House of Representatives from Wisconsin. Last fall he was defeated for reelection, along with many other candidates of the Progressive party in that state. Opposition to his appointment to the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is the governmental agency regulating the nation's railroads, is based largely on two arguments. The first is that Mr. Amlie's



THOMAS R. AMLIE H. &amp; E.

# The Week at Home

## What the People of the World Are Doing

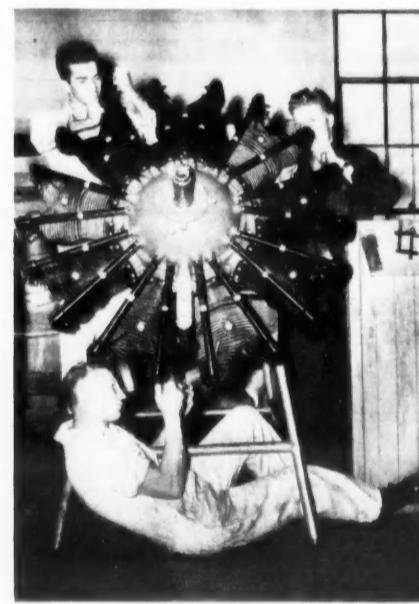
general views on government are too radical. The second is that he knows nothing about the problems of the railroads. Those who criticize him say that he has often made the statement that the capitalist system is a failure, and that he has advocated government ownership of railroads, telephones, power lines, and so on.

Ernest K. Lindley, writing in the *Washington Post*, defended the appointment vigorously. He pointed out that Mr. Amlie will be only one of 11 members of the ICC, that former members have believed the government should take over the railroads, and that other men appointed to the ICC have known little or nothing about the railroads beforehand. He concluded:

Mr. Amlie has integrity, the first essential for a public servant. He is a man of more than ordinary intelligence—well above the average of the men who will vote on his confirmation—and decidedly of a studious bent. He has, moreover, enough vitality to inject a bit of life into a commission which is badly in need of it. His nomination is not the most brilliant Mr. Roosevelt has made. It is far from the worst.

## Mayor Hague Loses

Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City has lost another round in his fight against the CIO. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the decision of a federal judge, which ruled



TRAINING AVIATORS

As part of the government-sponsored pilot-training program, these aeronautical students at Pomona Junior College, California, are learning about airplane engines.

against two city ordinances—one which regulated public meetings, and the other which prohibited the public distribution of pamphlets in Jersey City. Through these two ordinances, Mayor Hague was preventing CIO organizers from holding meetings, and from passing out circulars favoring the CIO. Jersey City police forced CIO officials to leave Jersey City, and broke up meetings at which speakers boasted the labor organization.

The CIO went to the courts in an effort to get the two ordinances ruled unconstitutional. Thus far it has been successful. Mayor Hague's lawyers have indicated that they will take the case to the Supreme Court, however, and that is the next step now that the Court of Appeals has ruled against the mayor.

## For the Farmers

The Agricultural Adjustment Act passed by Congress about a year ago has not been entirely satisfactory. There is a great deal of disagreement over how successful or how much of a failure it has been. It is certain, however, that some members of Congress will try to replace the AAA with another plan for aiding the farmers.

The plan now under discussion is rather simple. In brief, the federal government, through the secretary of agriculture, is to set



THE STATE OF THE UNION

ELDERMAN IN WASHINGTON POST

prices on all important farm products. The price will be determined by the cost of production. For instance, if the wheat farmer must get \$1 a bushel for his crop in order to produce it and make a fair profit, then the government will rule that no wheat can be sold for less than that price.

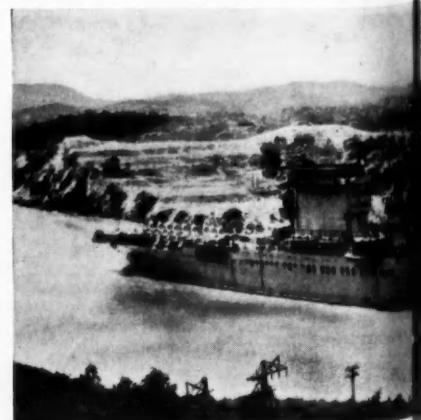
Since wheat farmers can produce much more wheat than they can sell in this country, however, there will be a surplus which must be sold abroad. That surplus, according to the plan, will be sold for whatever it will bring. The wheat farmer will be assured \$1 a bushel for wheat which he sells here, but he will have to take his chances on the price in foreign countries.

Such a bill almost passed the Senate last year, and it seems to have a fairly strong following in this Congress. It is likely that the plan will receive serious consideration during the weeks to come.

## Air Advances

Two recent events in the field of aviation have attracted much attention. The first was the announcement by an official of the Bakelite Manufacturing Company that a process of making airplane wings and fuselages from a plastic material, rather than metal, had been discovered. A plastic airplane, it was stated, could be turned out in one-twentieth the time and at one-third the cost it takes to manufacture one from metal. Also, plastic planes are supposed to be faster and less expensive to maintain. If the process proves to be practical, airplane factories will be able to turn out many more planes than at present. The plastic plane is not a revolutionary thing—both Germany and England have been working for some time to perfect such a material.

The second was the 575-mile-an-hour flight of a Curtiss Hawk 75A pursuit plane—the greatest speed ever reached by man. The previous record was 440 miles an hour. The test pilot took the plane, one of 100 which are being built for the French army, up to 22,000 feet, and dived it to 9,000 feet. The speedometer recorded a speed of 575 miles an hour, and then moved off the paper on which the



The aircraft carrier Lexington moves through the Pacific Ocean from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

# Home and Abroad

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking



SORE CORNS  
WARREN IN BUFFALO EVENING NEWS

record is marked, so the plane probably went faster than that. Aviation experts were amazed at the report; some scientists said that tests in wind-machines had proved it impossible for any plane to go that fast. The company offered the speedometer's record as proof.

### Uncle Sam, Landlord

Few people realize that the federal government is the largest landholder in the United States, that it owns one-fifth of the country's total area. The government's holdings are largely in the West, of course, and are composed of national forests, grazing lands, Indian reservations, national parks, and so on.

The federal government owns more than four-fifths of the state of Nevada, two-thirds of Arizona, and more than half of Utah and Idaho. In several of the New England states, however, it owns only a fraction of one percent of the land. The value of the government's land is estimated at approximately 113 billion dollars. The Interior Department controls more than half of the government land, while the Agriculture Department administers most of the remainder. The War, Navy, and Postoffice Departments all own a few acres.

Recently President Roosevelt set up a real-estate board, whose function it will be to look after the government's holdings in general.

## FOREIGN

### Soviet Problem No. 1

It is no exaggeration to say that the most pressing problem now facing the Soviet government is how to speed up production in all branches of industry. Soviet leaders feel keenly that Russia's future is bound up in the extent to which Russian industry can match the industry of capitalist nations in quality and quantity, and that every Russian worker must give his utmost if Russia and the Soviet system are to survive the acid tests to come.



WIDE WORLD  
THROUGH THE CANAL  
The Panamanian in accordance with the recent transfer of U. S. warships  
maneuvers in the Caribbean area.

At various times since the Russian revolution, Soviet officials have resorted to capitalist measures to step up the rate of industrial production, such as higher wages for skilled workers and variations on the "speed-up" system. But while production did increase enormously, it has not maintained a rate of increase satisfactory to Stalin and his associates. The greatest obstacle seems to be a tendency toward lethargy among Russian workers, many of whom have acquired the habit of coming in late, wandering around idly, gossiping, and playing truant.

Determined to bring these practices to an end, the Soviet government recently resorted to more stringent measures. Factory managers have been ordered among other things to dismiss any worker who comes in more than 20 minutes late. Managers who are lenient will be prosecuted by the police, and many of them, in fact, already have. While these new regulations have apparently achieved some of their objectives, in some quarters the results have been entirely unexpected. Since the urban transportation systems are far from perfect, mobs of Russian workers may now be seen in the railroad stations waiting for affidavits to the effect that the train was late, and that therefore their tardiness may be excused. This, of course, only makes them much later. Since the government is annoyed at this situation, and not likely to accept



w.w.

SOMEWHERE IN GERMANY  
A victim of the anti-Jewish campaign who resisted the Storm Troopers is placed on a cart and is pushed through the streets by another victim.

such excuses for long, there is a great rush for cheap alarm clocks. Unfortunately the only factory in Russia producing such clocks got into difficulties and fell 143,000 clocks behind schedule last year, making them virtually impossible to buy.

### Death of a Leader

In a little town on the French Riviera there died last week a man who was not only one of the greatest living poets, but a leader of the Irish nationalist revival, William Butler Yeats. As a young man Yeats had looked upon his country with both pride and sorrow. He saw that it contained great potentialities, but suffered from a combination of indifference and fancied inferiority. Cultured Irishmen had been turning to France and England for inspiration. At an early age he turned inwards to Ireland, to its history and traditions and to the mystical concepts of its people for inspiration. His genius produced a wealth of poems, plays, criticisms, and essays, while his burning conviction inspired others who have long since become famous as the principal figures of the so-called Irish Renaissance—Lord Dunsany, Lady Gregory, Synge, Sean O'Casey, Padraic Colum, and others. With his associates he founded the world-famous and popular Abbey Theater.



CIVILIANS IN SPAIN  
Flee before the advance of the insurgent forces. Thousands of them have poured over the French border seeking safety for their lives.

The literary renaissance had a profound effect on Irish politics. It gave to Irish intellectuals, to the upper middle class and the masses a feeling of something in common and a spirit of exuberant nationalism. In the days that followed, in the struggle for independence from England and in the partial realization of that aim, the government did not forget the source from which its power sprang. William Butler Yeats served as a senator from 1922 to 1928, and the president of Ireland today, Douglas Hyde, is one of Yeats' early followers and a great admirer of the traditions which he revived. No better tribute has been paid him than that of John Masefield, poet laureate of England, who said of him: "We have seen no one greater in our time."

### Quake in Chile

Along the southern coast of Chile, on that narrow strip of land between the towering Andes and the sea, the scenery is somewhat more akin to that of Switzerland than that of the barren, rocky regions of northern Chile, where nitrates and copper are mined. There are steep mountains, forests, and very fertile valleys between, dotted with small towns and prosperous farms. Recently that region felt the shock of a violent earthquake. Three minutes later it was all over. Clouds of dust hung over the fertile valleys, intermingled with smoke and flame. Chillan, Concepcion, and at least five other cities and countless towns lay in ruins. Farmhouses, new buildings, and the old Spanish churches had gone down together; the entire region was cut off from the outside world. Something like 35,000 people were dead and many others injured.

The Chilean earthquake was a calamity, probably the greatest in Chile's history, but it was not without its redeeming features. The people of Chile, divided into two hostile, evenly matched camps since the very close elections of October 29, found themselves united in one great effort to bring relief to the sufferers and to begin reconstruction. The popular front government of President Aguirre Cerda, which was just launching on a social reform program distasteful to the wealthy classes, eased up on some of its more restrictive measures in order to rally all parts of the nation. The conservatives, on their part, dropped their bitter opposition to his program.

On the international side, a great deal of good feeling was created by the manner in which Argentina and other countries, including the United States, placed special food and ambulance planes at the disposal of the stricken areas, carrying in food, doctors, and medical supplies so urgently needed.

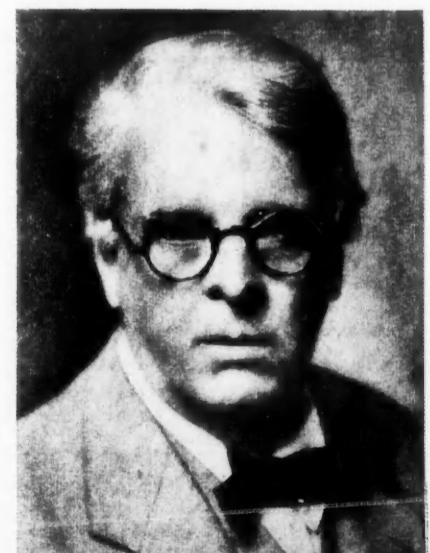
### Spanish Tragedy

Down the trails from the mountain passes in the Pyrenees, long, winding lines of people moved from Spain into France last week, black against the mountain snows. A thin trickle at first, the crowds of refugees fleeing from the triumphant armies of Insurgent General Franco swelled to the proportions of one of the greatest mass migrations in history until, in the words of one correspondent, "it seemed as if an entire nation were on the march." Hardened foreign correspondents

looked on in awe as crowds of people kept coming and coming for days and nights. There were some loyalist soldiers, most of them wounded, disconsolate and defeated. But most were women, children, girls, and old men, clad in tatters, half-starved, and distracted with fear and suffering. The streams of people moving down along all known roads and passes melted into a mass, but each individual presented an individual story. One woman carried a lamb. One Catalan girl arrived with nothing but a torn pair of broadloom slippers on her feet after having striven for miles through deep snows. Some mothers left their children at the border and turned back. Children arrived crying and half-starved, many of them having gone without food for days.

All along the border huge bonfires blazed at night every 100 yards. In vain the French troops tried to hold the moving crowds in check. Back in the mountains many bonfires blazed where people were pitifully trying to keep themselves warm. Women were killing horses for food when they could find any. Hundreds were dropping from cold, exhaustion, and starvation. Beyond the mountains the roads were jammed with still longer lines of fleeing people, methodically machine-gunned and bombed by insurgent planes. The dead and wounded were left, the others moved on. No amount of suffering and hardship, apparently, could prevent those people from fleeing penniless into a strange country where they might escape revenge, fascist rule, or both. By last Monday, 40,000 people had crossed into France.

There was no longer any regular battle line in Catalonia. In some isolated sectors loyalists were holding out to the bitter end. But a large part of the army, 300,000 strong, retreated sullenly, its ammunition gone, its morale broken, and its cause, to all appearances, lost. The red and gold banner of General Franco was waving over Barcelona, the former loyalist capital and the largest city in Spain. Moorish, Italian, and Spanish troops were loose in its streets. The loyalist government of Juan Negrin was scattered and events apparently had passed beyond its control.



WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS

## Personalities in the News

SHOULD the federal government continue to spend heavily for relief, for public works, for agricultural subsidies, and so on? Should it continue to add three or four billion dollars a year to the national debt? Or should it cut down expenditures, balance the budget, and try to reduce the public debt?

Lately a lively debate has been going on, via the newspapers and the radio, between



HARRY F. BYRD

Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, and Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, on the question of government spending

—probably the most important and most controversial question now before the nation. Other weighty matters, such as relief, social security, housing, and public health, hinge on the policy which is adopted toward spending.

Senator Byrd is one of the "budget balancers." He believes that the Roosevelt administration has been extravagant; he fears that in years to come taxes will have to be oppressively high in order to pay the bills which are being run up now. He says that the national debt is becoming so large it is endangering the credit of the government, and he prophesies that there will be a financial crash unless a policy of rigid economy is adopted. To the argument that the government must spend money in order to keep the wheels of industry turning, he answers that private interests would spend if the government restored confidence to businessmen by economizing.

The red-haired, ruddy-cheeked Virginian has preached the blessings of economy ever since he came to the Senate, in 1933. He earned a reputation for being thrifty while he was governor of Virginia, from 1926 to 1930. During that time the state debt was reduced four million dollars, although funds for roads and schools were increased. Governor Byrd did it by following the "pay-as-you-go" practice, and by watching every penny which was spent.

Senator Byrd went to work on the *Winchester Star* when he was 15 years old, and he now owns and publishes the paper. However, he is better known as a farmer than as a newspaperman. He owns one of the largest orchards east of the Mississippi River; every year about 1,500 car-loads of apples are shipped from his farms. Senator Byrd is a Democrat, but he is one of the group which consistently opposes President Roosevelt. He has been interested in politics for many years, but his first important public office was that of governor. His brother is Richard E. Byrd, the famous antarctic explorer. One of the senator's three children is named for his brother.



H. F. BYRD

MARRINER S. ECCLES is one of the "spenders"; he supports and encourages the Roosevelt administration in its policy of continued spending. The country is still in a period of emergency, he says. Private interests are not spending money, and until they do so, the government must pump millions of dollars into the industrial machinery. Otherwise, he predicts, it will stop, and the nation will

go into another economic depression. He does not believe that the government could or should continue to spend indefinitely, constantly adding to the national debt. But at present it must do so, in his opinion. He does not believe that the debt has yet reached alarming proportions. Other countries, he points out, have much larger debts in comparison to their wealth and population. And as for excessive taxes

in the future—he believes that once business picks up, the total sum collected from present taxes will more than balance the budget, and there will be no need to levy more or heavier taxes.

Mr. Eccles is an expert on finance. He was a prominent banker in Utah for years before he came to Washington, and had a national reputation for his activities in the West. In 1916, after working in several of his father's companies and traveling for two years in Europe, he organized the Eccles Investment Company to look after family interests. He is still president of that organization, and at various times has been an executive or a director in a number of private businesses.

The Federal Reserve Board chairman has considerable influence with the President. He has black hair and a rather thin face; he is aggressive and outspoken, and is an excellent defender of the President's financial policy.

OF Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, better known as Lord Halifax, the secretary of state for foreign affairs of Great Britain, one would probably say first, "He looks like an Englishman, he talks like one, he wears his clothes and carries himself like one." Tall and lean, deliberate of speech and gentle of manner, he bears indelibly stamped upon him the mark of the British conservative. And a British conservative he is, in fact and at heart.

Viscount Halifax comes of a British family that has devoted itself to public service for three generations. Over a long period of time he has served in some of the highest offices accessible to members of the British peerage, such as viceroy of India, president of the board of education, secretary of state for war, Lord Privy Seal, and leader of the House of Lords.

Since 1936 Lord Halifax has been one of the most prominent individuals in the conservative cabinet, both before and behind the scenes. Even more than Mr. Chamberlain, it is said, he has espoused the idea that the only way of dealing with Hitler and Mussolini is to give them what

they want so long as they do not directly infringe upon British territory and so long as war can be avoided. Believing that a European war would not only be an enormous catastrophe in the toll of lives and property damage, but would bring socialism to Europe, and perhaps to Britain, Lord Halifax has in all sincerity launched all his efforts to prevent it.

Although Prime Minister Chamberlain actually took over the office of foreign secretary from Anthony Eden, when the latter resigned last year, Lord Halifax serves as a partial substitute, taking care of the more routine matters. A deeply religious man and a great lover of the quiet seclusion of life in the British countryside, it cannot be said that he is perfectly happy as the man who is more or less in charge of the British foreign office in such troublesome times as these.

RECENT developments in France indicate that very shortly a post will be created for the coordination of all the defense forces of the republic, and that the man slated to fill it is General Maurice Gustave Gamelin, chief of the French general staff. General Gamelin is not only one of the most outstanding officers of the brilliant French officer corps, but he is in many ways a typical product of the French military system. He does not look as though he were a fighter, but more like a scholar (and he is, in fact, a great reader). He does not insist so much upon rigid discipline, in the German fashion, but upon the development of individual initiative in his subordinates. He works very hard, and prefers thinking out complicated problems

in the quiet of his map-strewn office in the huge, rambling Palais des Invalides to reviewing brilliant parades.

General Gamelin was born in Paris in 1872 of a family from which have come many officers of the French army. In the tradition of his family he attended a military school and then joined the army where he soon saw service in Algeria. There was nothing brilliant about Gamelin's rise. It was very slow, and some promotions seemed long delayed. But

gradually he moved up, serving on all of General Joffre's staffs from 1906 to 1914 and then as a field commander during the war. After the war he served at various times on a military mission to Brazil, in Syria, and on the Paris general staff. In 1930 he became army chief of staff, a position which he has held ever since.



W.W. GENERAL GAMELIN

## World Examines Speech by Hitler

(Concluded from page 3)

fall, it was not cordial and offered little hope for any sort of European settlement other than that of the kind already made, wherein German leaders have gone about achieving their ends wherever and whenever it has suited them, giving nothing in return, and holding out no hopes for giving up anything in the future.

### Colonial Question

The first of the two important declarations made by Hitler concerns the colonies taken from Germany by the Allied powers after the World War. The bulk of these colonies lay in that region of Africa between the southern fringes of the Sahara Desert and the Cape of Good Hope.

In his speech Hitler referred to criticisms that Germany had not developed these colonies. He said that the reason was that Germany had not needed them then, but that she does need them now to supply vital raw materials. National Socialism, he continued, had done all it could to increase the productivity of German farms, and the very limit had just about been reached. He then issued a warning, the first real threat of his speech. The adverse balance that Germany was suffering in her export trade was, he said, due to international currency manipulations designed to weaken Germany. If the German government found it impossible to get the bread its people needed, it was ready to adopt any means to get it. The people were ready and willing, he said, and they would not find their leadership wanting. This warning is susceptible to two interpretations. One is that Germany will fight if she is not granted favorable trade terms by the democracies that will enable her to import what she needs. The other is that unless the colonies are returned and Germany enabled to import her needed foodstuffs from them, then she will resort to forceful methods.

The other point made by Hitler contained even greater potentialities. After devoting some praise to Premier Mussolini, he stated categorically that Germany would support Italy in any war she might become involved in over her national aspirations.

As we go to press, the last words of the German Fuehrer's speech have scarcely died away, and the full import of his statements cannot yet be measured with accuracy, but the European situation is today somewhat as follows: the Berlin-Rome axis is apparently preparing for another period of pressure politics. Italians have demanded Tunis, Corsica, and the Red Sea port of Jibuti from France. The Spanish civil war, now drawing to its close in Mussolini's favor, promises to give him foothold on the Iberian peninsula, and a greatly improved position in regard to France. France has indicated that she is determined to resist, and England is apparently determined to back her resistance. Once again the initiative lies in the hands of the dictators.

**Locate Yourself**  
Types of Students and Analysis of Prospects

### Type 16

THE student whom we shall consider this week is a boy who feels very strongly the urge to get into politics. Public life has an appeal for him. He is interested in knowing the steps he should take leading toward the realization of his dreams. There are girls, of course, who have these dreams of the public life. There are women in politics these days, so such dreams are not by any means foolish or absurd. It remains a fact, however, that politics offers far more opportunities for men than for women.

The first step for such a student to take is to do all the work he can in the social studies. He should take all the courses which are offered in civics and history and economics. It is particularly important that he spend a great deal of time on current history. He should read newspapers and magazines and a few of the best books dealing with current political, economic, and international problems.

It is true that many politicians, and some fairly successful ones, have little knowledge of public problems. They understand the machinery of politics. They know how to control local elections, how to get out the vote. They understand the phrases and catchwords which may appeal to voters, but they have few ideas concerning the measures which will be best for their city, state, or nation.

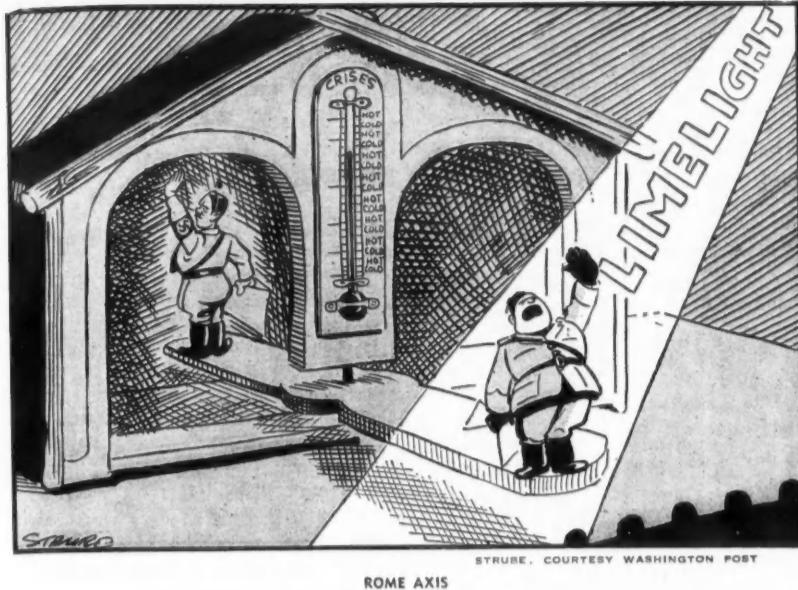
The young man whom we are advising this week should plan, however, to rise above such a level. He should be prepared so that, when the opportunity comes, he may be more than a politician—so that he may be a statesman. He should build as broad and strong a foundation as he possibly can. Furthermore, if he has a spark of patriotism and decency about him, he should make up his mind to use his talents in the service of his town or his country. He should not go out for success in politics merely in order to wield power or gain wealth for himself.

It is important, however, that a young person who plans to enter politics should know the political game. He should study the methods employed by the politicians who actually wield power in his own voting precinct, in his ward, and in his city. He should understand the realities of politics. He should know as much about the devices by which primaries and elections are controlled locally as any of the professional



politicians do. Once he has acquired this knowledge, he can use it for the public good.

This student should not only study public affairs, but he should be a careful student of English. He should master the language so that he can speak effectively in private conversation, and he should learn to speak in public. He should join a club where speaking is one of the activities and where there is practice in parliamentary law. If there is not such a club, he should help form one. Dramatics is often useful. Al Smith got his start in politics by participating in amateur plays. It is important, too, that one who wishes to take part in public life should learn to associate pleasantly with others, that he should be generally friendly, and that he should learn to make friends. It is almost impossible for one to go far in politics unless this quality of friendliness and sociability is highly developed.



ROME AXIS

## TALKING THINGS OVER

**What course should the United States follow in relation to European affairs? Should it actively support France and England? Or should it concentrate on protection at home?**

From time to time this feature, "Talking Things Over," will appear in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. Imaginary students, whom we shall call John, Charles, and Mary, will discuss some problems quite frankly and will express points of view which are commonly held among the American people. Nothing said by any one of these characters is to be regarded as the opinion of the editors of this paper. Ordinarily, the discussion will not lead to complete agreement because discussions in actual life seldom do. It is hoped, however, that they will clarify certain points and make the issues stand out more definitely. This week the discussion relates to the part the United States should play in the international controversy which threatens war between the fascist dictatorships and the democratic nations.

**John:** I've just been reading about the sale of airplanes by Americans to the French. The President admits that our government is encouraging these deals and that he has permitted French officers to inspect American planes and then to buy a large number of them. I don't like this at all.

**Charles:** Why not?

**John:** Because it indicates that we are taking sides in the European mess. There have been plenty of other indications lately. As a matter of fact, we appear to be headed toward war again. The same propaganda that got us into the World War is at work now. Nearly everybody is saying that if there is a war in Europe, we will be drawn in and that we ought to help the democratic nations.

It is time to call a halt to all this propaganda. If there is a war in Europe, we ought to stay out. There is no reason why we should get in. Nobody is attacking us, and there is no danger that anyone will. If we go to war, it will be, on our part, an aggressive war; and it seems to me that it would be a tragedy and a disgrace to send the young men of America to slaughter when we are not being invaded or attacked.

**Charles:** Have you no preference, then, between the Germans and Italians, on the one hand, and the English and French?

**John:** I think the German people are as good as any other. And so are the Italians. Their governments are making some mistakes, but so have the governments of England and France made mistakes. They made a big mistake when they forced Germany to sign an unjust treaty at the close of the war, and now they are paying for it. But, in spite of what the governments do, the people of all the countries are about alike. And I do not want the United States to go to war with any of them.

**Mary:** You may be right in saying that the Germans and Italians are just as good people as the English and French. But would you not agree that the German and Italian governments, supported by the people of those countries, are engaged in aggression, that they are invading other people's lands, and threatening to go even further with their conquests?

**John:** Yes, at the present time, that is true. But they are not threatening us.

**Charles:** Don't you think there is danger that if they continue their conquests until they bring on a war in Europe, this war may result in the defeat of Great Britain and France?

**John:** That may happen. I don't know. It is at least possible.

**Charles:** Do you think that, if Germany should keep on with her expansions and her conquests and if she should defeat England and France, her conquests would then stop? Is it not possible that, if they had England and France out of the way, Germany and Italy, assisted perhaps by Japan, would try to gain a foothold in South America and threaten us?

**John:** At least they won't threaten us now, and I would emphasize the point that it's no worse for them to make the conquests they are making than it was for the French and English to conquer colonies in centuries past.

**Mary:** Perhaps that is true, but, regardless of what may have been done in the past, are not German and Italian conquests at the present time dangerous to us?

**John:** I don't think that anyone is going to threaten us if we stay home and mind our business.

**Charles:** Let me put it this way: If you thought that Germany and Italy might conquer England and France if we stood aside, and if you thought further, that once they had England and France out of the way they would be a danger to us, would you still hold that the United States should stand aloof and take no part in what is happening in Europe?

**John:** No. If I really believed that Germany and Italy would undertake the conquest of Latin America, once they had England and France defeated, I would favor our joining England and France to prevent

a German and Italian victory. But I do not think there is any danger of their trying to cross the Atlantic.

**Charles:** That makes the issue clearer. We come down now to a question of fact. Is there real danger to us in continued victories of Germany and Italy? I think there is. I would feel very unsafe if the British navy were destroyed and if Britain and France were defeated and forced to become fascist, and if those nations, having become fascist, were allied with Germany and Italy. That would be a terrible array of force, and I think it quite likely that if such a thing should happen, the victorious Germans and Italians would make alliances with the countries of South America and then we would be helpless. For that reason, I feel that we should take a stand right away alongside Great Britain and France.

**Mary:** Why should we take a stand now? I agree with you that it would be dangerous to America to have the Germans and Italians conquer all Europe. But they haven't done that yet, and it is not at all certain that they will.

**Charles:** If we are going to step in at all, the time is ripe for it. The Gallup poll shows that 57 per cent of the American people believe that if there is a war in Europe, we will be drawn in. If we would be drawn in, in case of war, we should try to see to it that there isn't any war. And the best way to do that is to let the Germans and Italians know in advance that if they start a war of aggression, the United States will assist the French and British.

If the fascist powers know in advance that they will have to face America too, they probably won't start a war.

In my opinion, we cannot afford to see the Germans and Italians win a war. Our interests are substantially the same as those of the British and French. The chief thing for us to do, then, is to try to prevent war by letting the fascist powers know that they will have to fight us, too.

**John:** You are taking a long step, of course, when you assume that we have the same interests in a war that the British and French have. I still hold to my belief that we would not be attacked, whatever the outcome of the war in Europe might be. And if I am right in that, the best course for the United States to take is to

prepare to defend herself. She should prepare to defend the Western Hemisphere, but should not go to war until the Western Hemisphere is attacked.

**Mary:** I agree partly with John and partly with Charles. I certainly believe that we should prepare at once to defend the Western Hemisphere. We should build a large enough navy and large enough air fleet so as to be able to defeat the Germans and Italians in the Atlantic. We know that we will not have to fight the French and English in the Atlantic, for they are satisfied powers. They are not trying to expand. They would have no motive in undertaking to cross the Atlantic. The Germans and Italians, on the other hand, are engaged in conquest, and for that reason, I fear them. I would feel very uneasy if they defeated the British and French. I think the United States should not permit them to do so if we can possibly prevent it. I do not believe that the time has come for us to say that we will get into a war if one comes. We are not sure that the British and French will fight the fascist powers. Perhaps they will make deals with them. I think that America should adopt a policy of watchful waiting.

**Charles:** I wonder if, before the discussion closes, we can agree upon certain points. Are we all agreed that, under the circumstances, the United States should add to its armaments so that it will never have to knuckle as apparently France and England did at Munich?

**John:** I agree with that.

**Mary:** So do I.

**Charles:** Are we then agreed on this: If we came to the conclusion at any time (as I already have) that the Germans and Italians might attempt to extend their power to South America, should we join the British and French to check them?

John and Mary express approval.

**Charles:** The point, then, upon which we are not in agreement is this: Will America and the Western Hemisphere be safe from German and Italian aggression if the fascist powers are unchecked by force? John apparently thinks that our safety does not depend upon checking the fascists. I feel very sure that we cannot be safe on this side of the Atlantic so long as German and Italian aggression continues unchecked.

## Something to Think About

### Are You Sure of Your Facts?

1. What is the estimated annual cost and loss to the United States of preventable death and disease?
2. On what grounds do a large number of doctors oppose a government-sponsored program of health insurance?
3. According to the recommendations of President Roosevelt, what kind of health-insurance system should be adopted in the United States?
4. What did Hitler say about colonies in his recent speech?
5. What pledge, if any, has Hitler given to Mussolini?
6. How does France's position differ from last fall?
7. What effect has the earthquake in Chile had upon the political situation of that country?
8. What is the principal objection to the appointment of Thomas P. Amlie to the Interstate Commerce Commission?

### Can You Defend Your Opinions?

1. Do you favor the adoption of a system of health insurance sponsored by the federal government? by the states?
2. From the standpoint of the individual doctor, what might be the advantages of health insurance, either private or public? the disadvantages?
3. What do you think will be the effect of Hitler's speech upon Europe?
4. What action should France take in the face of Italy's demands?
5. In the light of events in Europe during the last month, what should the foreign policy of the United States be?

**REFERENCES ON HEALTH INSURANCE:** (a) Toward a Nationwide Program for Medical Care, by M. Sandison. *National Education Association Journal*, October 1938, pp. 215-216. (b) Diagnosing the Doctors, by B. Smith. *Reader's Digest*, August 1938, pp. 1-5. (c) Doctors Face Revolt, by A. D. Carlson. *Harpers*, September 1938, pp. 391-399. (d) Unserved Millions, by H. Hall and P. Kellogg. *Survey Graphic*, September 1938, pp. 436-441. (e) Medicine and Monopoly, by W. Hard. *Survey Graphic*, December 1938, pp. 606-609.

**REFERENCES ON EUROPE:** (a) Europe: Four Views. *The New Republic*, October 26, 1938, pp. 322-326. (b) Road from Munich, by E. Davis. *Harpers*, December 1938, pp. 40-48. (c) Road to Munich, by W. Woodside. *Harpers*, December 1938, pp. 28-39. (d) Safety of France, by Pertinax. *The Atlantic*, January 1939, pp. 21-27. (e) Where Now is Britain? by G. Hutton. *The Atlantic*, January 1939, pp. 1-12.

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** Aguirre Cerdá (ah-gee'rey sair'dah), Concepcion (kon-sep-syoan'), Juan Negrín (hwahn' nay-green'), Goebels (goe'tes-baing'), Berchtesgaden (baik'tes-gah-den), Maurice Gustave Gamelin (moe-ree's gue-stahv' ga-me-lan'), Georges Bonnet (zhorzh' boe-nay'), Fuehrer (few-rur), Goebbels (guh'bels), Goering (guh'ring'), Hjalmar Schacht (hyahl'mar shahkt'), Konrad Henlein (kon'raht hen'line), Seyss-Inquart (siss' in'quart—first i as in ice).



JUST ASKING  
RAY IN KANSAS CITY STAR



A COMMON MEETING GROUND AT LAST?  
MERGEN IN MIAMI DAILY NEWS

# Ways Sought to Raise Health Standards of U. S.

(Concluded from page 1)

And this tremendous number does not take into account the hundreds of thousands whose health was permanently impaired by illnesses which were not properly cared for. However much progress we, as a nation, may have made in combating disease, the fact remains that every day of the year there are some six million men, women, and children who are confined at home on account of illness.

## Inadequate Care

It is apparent from these figures that there is a great unfilled demand for the services of the medical profession, of doctors and nurses and hospitals and all those who are engaged in the work of protecting the nation's health. The incomes of a large proportion of the American families—probably half of them—are so low that they cannot afford proper medical care. It is all they can do to pay the rent and buy food and clothing. They hesitate to call in a doctor when illness strikes a member of the family, unless they feel that it is really serious. And frequently these seemingly minor ailments run into something really dangerous, many times resulting even in death or the permanent impairment of health.

Nor can this failure better to meet the health needs of the nation be laid at the doctors' doors. While many of the doctors are occupied most of the time, a large number of them are barely able to eke out an existence. Their services are not fully

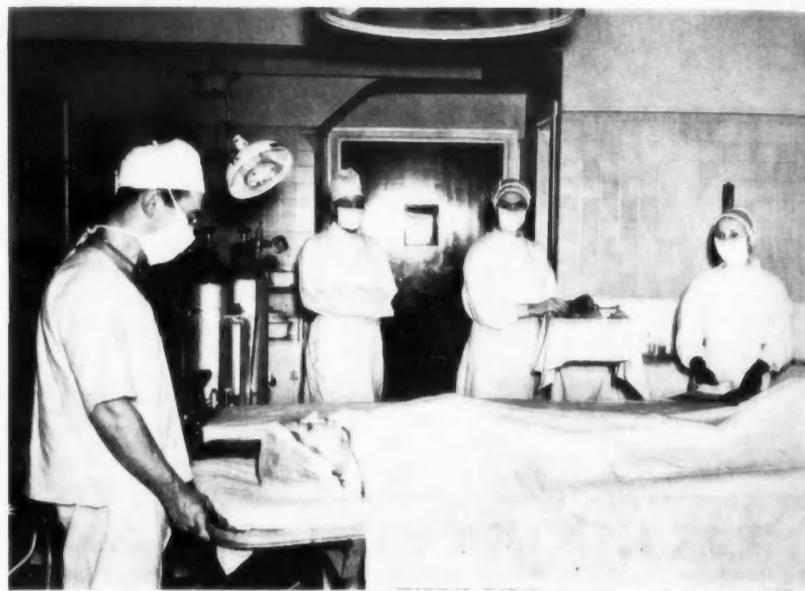
ing with these inequalities and extending proper medical care to all groups. The principle of health insurance, or group medical practice, as it is sometimes called, is relatively simple. Under private auspices a number of health-insurance schemes are already in existence in a number of places. While these plans differ in various details, their general procedure is the same. By paying a fixed sum every week or every month, families become members of these systems. When illness strikes them, they are entitled, without paying an additional charge, to receive treatment from a physician and hospital care if necessary.

One of the most extensive and most widely discussed of the private health-insurance programs is that conducted by the Ross-Loos Clinic of Los Angeles. About 20,000 persons in Los Angeles have, along with their families, joined together in an association. This represents a total of 60,000 persons. Each of the 20,000 members of the association pays a sum of two dollars a month, creating a monthly fund of \$40,000. This money is used to employ physicians, about 25 in number, whose responsibility is to treat any member of the association who becomes ill. If a person who has paid into this fund, or any member of his family, is ill, he receives medical attention without further charge. He does not get dental or nurse service, or hospitalization, but he gets everything else.

The members of the association feel that this plan is a great advantage to them. Even though a member does not have much money and has put away no reserve for medical attention, he does not go without medical care if he or a member of his family is ill. Neither is he obliged to go into debt for doctors' bills. Without incurring debt, without asking for charity, he gets medical attention when he needs it. The plan works on the same principle as any other form of insurance. It is merely a matter of laying up a fund for an emergency by regular payments.

## Opposition

At the present time, however, only a small fraction of the American population is covered by health-insurance schemes such as the one just described. That is why it has been urged that the federal government take the leadership in promoting a general plan throughout the country



HOW SHALL THE NATION MEET THE COST OF MEDICAL CARE?

for people whose medical needs are inadequately cared for at present. The special committee's report, which President Roosevelt submitted to Congress, does not call for a national plan of health insurance. But it does recommend that the various states be encouraged to set up systems of their own. If Congress acts upon this recommendation, it will authorize the payment of funds to the states to help defray the expenses of health insurance. A large part of the money, of course, would be raised by payments of those who would be insured, and part of it by general taxation in the states. The idea is to get the states started on the program, to allow them to work out their own plans, but to encourage them by giving them financial assistance.

The principal opponent of group medicine, or health insurance, is the American Medical Association, of which 110,000 of the nation's 170,000 doctors are members. The principal objections of the A. M. A. to group medicine under the control of the government, state or federal, is that the doctors would be regimented and that politics would enter into the field of medicine, destroying its efficiency. It would sweep away all the traditions of independence and personal relationship be-

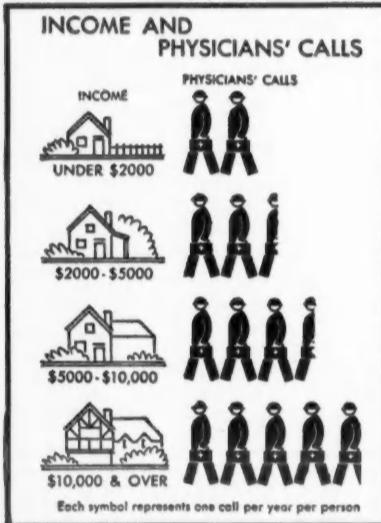
tween doctor and patient, it is claimed. The general standards of the profession would be lowered, for political control would prevent doctors from doing their best work; they would be salaried workers who would lose initiative and fail to carry on the experiments and studies which are essential to the continued progress of the profession.

There is some indication, however, that the attitude of the medical profession with respect to group medicine is undergoing drastic changes. Many state and local medical societies have endorsed the principle of health insurance. Following the lead of the New York State Medical Society, largest affiliate of the national organization, the American Medical Association itself has recognized the fact that the health of the nation is a matter of just concern to the government. Although it did not go so far as to endorse the principle of health insurance, it did favor increased activities on the part of the federal government to safeguard the health of the lower income groups of the nation.

## Sharp Division

The truth of the matter is that the medical profession is sharply divided on the issue. The Gallup poll indicates that seven out of 10 physicians are in favor of some kind of health-insurance program. Other polls indicate that a majority of doctors believe that the government should undertake to do something to enable the lower income groups better to meet their medical needs. The trend seems to be in the direction of positive action to prevent the terrible waste of life which now comes from inadequate medical attention.

Whatever action, or lack of it, is taken on the proposal to establish state systems of health insurance, financed in part by federal grants of money, it seems fairly clear that steps will be taken along other fronts to improve the nation's health. The President has recommended, and Senator Wagner has incorporated the proposals in his bill, that some \$50,000,000 be appropriated this year for health purposes. These funds would be used to assist the states to enlarge the activities of their public health services and to help the United States Public Health Service; to enable the states to construct, enlarge, and modernize hospital facilities, which are now totally inadequate, and to establish health centers and clinics in regions which now have none; and to increase the assistance to persons on relief or so destitute that they cannot afford medical attention. If the present plans materialize, this will be but the first step in a gigantic program which, by the end of 10 years, would result in a vigorous campaign to improve the health standards of the nation. But before that time, the American people will have the opportunity to hear all points of view clearly and strongly expressed.



(From a chart in "Doctors, Dollars and Disease," published by the Public Affairs Committee.)

occupied by needy patients because people who most require them hesitate to call a doctor. Rare, indeed, is the nurse who is employed anywhere near full time. And so there is a great gap between those who need medical attention and those who are ready to provide it. As described by President Roosevelt in his recent message to Congress, the central problem is: "the existence of serious unmet needs for medical service, and our failure to make full application of the growing powers of medical science to prevent or control disease and disability."

## Income and Illness

The heaviest blows of illness are struck at families of low income. Among families on relief, for example, each person is sick on the average of 11 days a year, whereas among families with incomes of more than \$3,000 a year, the average is only four days. One basic reason, of course, is that families with small incomes do not have the right sort of food; they often live in damp, draughty houses, and they usually do not have the proper clothing. Consequently, when illness strikes them, they are less able to throw it off than those whose resistance is higher as a result of better living conditions. The second reason is that they do not call for medical attention until they regard it as absolutely essential.

Health insurance has long been advocated as the only satisfactory way of deal-

## Smiles

Foreman: "Why are you leaving?"  
Riveter: "I don't mind hammering rivets all day long, but the man next to me hums incessantly!" —FROTH

A well-known Scot had come into a large amount of money and had bought himself a very superior car, and hired a chauffeur to go with it.

One day a friend noticed the new car was fitted with a taxi meter.

"What on earth," he asked, "have you got that meter on your car for?"

"Why, mon," came the reply, "it cheers me to see all the money I might have been spending."

—ANSWERS

"He was kicked out of school for cheating!"  
"How come?"

"He was caught counting his ribs in a physiology exam." —DUDS

Freshman: "Say, you can't take that girl home! She's the reason I came to the party."

Sophomore: "Well, you've lost your reason." —EXCHANGE

The farmer's daughter had at last persuaded her father to let her take singing lessons, but on condition that she practice while he was out working in the fields. One day he came back to the house unexpectedly during the day.

"What's that awful noise, Minnie?" he asked his wife.

"That, dear," replied Minnie proudly, "is Jane cultivating her voice."

"Cultivating!" exclaimed the farmer. "That ain't cultivating—that's harrowing!" —GARGOYLE

A well-known speaker lectured to the members of a literary society, and at the end of his address the secretary approached him with a check. This he politely refused, saying that it might be devoted to some charitable purpose.

"Would you mind," asked the secretary, "if we add it to our special fund?"

"Not at all," said the speaker. "What is the special fund for?"

"To enable us to get better lecturers next year." —Chicago News

Employee: "May I have the afternoon off to go shopping with my wife?"

Boss: "No."

Employee: "Thanks ever so much." —WALL STREET JOURNAL



I'M SORRY BUT I'LL HAVE TO SEPARATE YOU TWO!

MERRYLE'S IN COUNTRY GENTLEMAN